FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NOVEMBER 7, 1914

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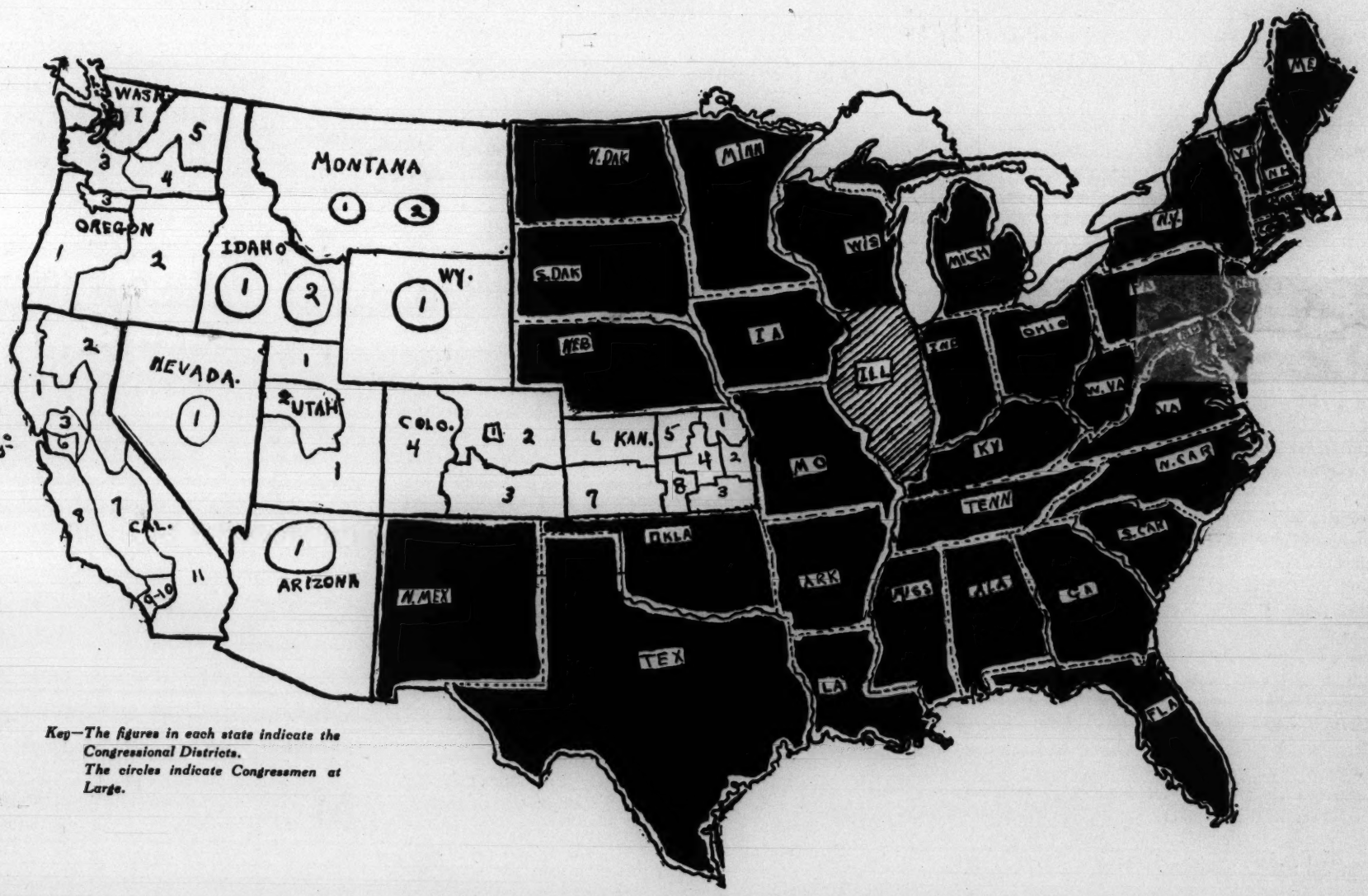

Key—The figures in each state indicate the Congressional Districts.
The circles indicate Congressmen at Large.

THE NEW SUFFRAGE MAP

THE WINNING OF NEVADA AND MONTANA MAKES ELEVEN STATES WHERE WOMEN NOW HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE AND ONE STATE, ILLINOIS, WHERE THEY HAVE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

ONE-FOURTH OF THE SENATE, NEARLY ONE-SIXTH OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND NEARLY ONE-FIFTH OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE NOW COMES FROM SUFFRAGE STATES

THE DAY OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT IS AT HAND!

WITH THIS LEVERAGE IN CONGRESS FEDERAL ACTION ON SUFFRAGE CAN NO LONGER BE DELAYED

Vol. II NOVEMBER 7, 1914. No. 45

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Review of the Week

Women Voters and the Democratic Party

PROBABLY the most far reaching event in the suffrage world during the past week will prove to be the loss of votes in the suffrage states suffered by Democratic Congressional candidates on account of the hostile attitude of their national party toward the suffrage amendment. For a month and a half the Congressional Union has endeavored to make plain to the people of the country the unsatisfactory record of the National Democratic Party on suffrage. They aimed particularly to bring this knowledge before the women voters of the West. The violent denunciation of this action of the Congressional Union, by Democratic leaders, Democratic editorial writers and party followers down to the lowest man in the political machine, bears eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of the Union's campaign.

In the suffrage states where the Democrats expected to retain or increase their majorities owing to the fact that that section of the country was not complaining of the disadvantageous effects of the tariff revision as were the industrial centers of the East, there was nevertheless a reduction of Democratic strength nearly all along the line,—strong Democratic pluralities were entirely wiped out or greatly reduced, and seats which the Democrats had confidently expected to capture were retained by their opponents. Suffrage has at last been made an issue in the national field. Never again will members of Congress or party leaders refer to the suffrage question as "an amusing incident of the political campaign," as did Representative Selcomridge shortly before election day. So close is the contest in many districts that returns have not yet been received and an adequate summary of the situation will have to be postponed until a later issue. Details of the campaign which are at present at hand are presented elsewhere in this number.

Nevada a Suffrage State

NEVADA was this week added to the list of suffrage states. This means an increase of two United States Senators and one member of the National House of Representatives coming from suffrage states. It also means an increase of three in the electoral vote cast by these states. Members of the Congressional Union are particularly interested in the result in Nevada because of the active part the Union has taken in the campaign in that state. One of its ablest organizers, Miss Mabel Vernon was placed in Nevada last March and remained there until after election day assisting the State Equal Franchise Society in all parts of the work. From March until September Miss Vernon was the only organizer in the state.

The winning of Nevada is of significance as an indication of the respect with which woman suffrage is viewed by those who are in close contact with it. Nevada was entirely surrounded by suffrage states and its voters were supplied therefore with first hand knowledge as to the workings of suffrage.

Montana Joins Suffrage Ranks

AS we go to press the returns in Montana seem sufficient to justify the belief that the Suffrage Amendment has carried in Montana also. A telegram addressed to the Congressional Union, signed by Miss Jeannette Rankin, State President of the Montana Woman Suffrage Association and Miss Mary O'Neil, State Press-chairman, reads: "Montana women greet you. We are voters. Majority now over four thousand. Thanks for your help and good will." The count is not entirely completed, but there seems no possibility of overturning the majority already secured. The winning of Montana means the addition of two more Senators, two more Representatives and four more electoral votes coming from suffrage states.

The Remaining Campaign States

AN official count will probably be necessary to determine the result in Nebraska. In Missouri, Ohio, North Dakota and South Dakota the suffrage amendment was defeated by a considerable majority.

Welcome to the Western Campaigners

ON November 15th, at 3:30, at the Columbia Theatre, there will be a mass meeting in welcome to the women who have returned from the Congressional Union campaign against the National Democratic Party in the suffrage states, because of its anti-suffrage record. One notable feature of the meeting will be the presence of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England, who will make the principal address. Mrs. Lawrence was formerly treasurer of the Woman's Social and Political Union and with her husband, edited for several years past, the English Suffrage paper, *Votes for Women*. She is a speaker of great power and her presence at this meeting at the close of the first national political campaign in which women have participated directly in favor of national enfranchisement, emphasizes the unity of this world wide struggle for woman's political freedom.

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, president of the Maryland Just Government League and a member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union, will preside.

Tickets are now on sale at Suffrage Headquarters, 1420 F Street Northwest, at 25c, 50c, 75c and $1.00. Gallery free.

Sunday Teas Resumed

THE informal opening of the Congressional Union Sunday afternoon teas in Washington, on November 1st, was notable because of the presence of an unique personage, Prince Sarath Ghosh, the Indian lecturer and author. The Prince gave arguments in favor of equal suffrage which appealed to him as unanswerable. The Prince was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, in England, and showed himself perfectly familiar with the social and economic conditions of women in the West as well as in India.

Among the many interested auditors was the Nicarauguan Minister to the United States.

Thé Dansant

PREPARATIONS for the Thé Dansant, the Congressional Union's debut in the season of 1914-15 were begun only a week ago, but already the arrangements are nearly complete. The list of patronesses numbers twenty. Besides the women whose names appeared last week in the General Committee of which Mrs. Dorothy K. Earle is chairman, the following women have become sponsors for the The Dansant: Mrs. John B. Henderson, widow of the late Senator; Mrs. James Mitchell, Mrs. A. S. Neale Mrs. Ormsby McCammon, Mrs. Moren Thompson and Mrs. Augustus Smith. New names are added daily to the men's floor committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Omsby McCammon. The Hon. John Barrett, Director General of the Pan-American Union, and Mr. Myron Parker were among the first to give their services.

A girl's floor committee is being arranged under the chairmanship of Miss Ruth Parker. Mrs. Harry G. Cole, well known for her charming dancing, will give the Pavlova Gavotte as a special feature of the afternoon. The Myer Davis Orchestra will furnish music, and the members of the Congressional Union are looking forward to what is really the opening event of the social season at the National Capitol.

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

THE second convention of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference will be held at Chattanooga, November 10th and 11th. The event is of great importance as marking the first gathering of any size, of Suffragists from all of the Southern States. Among the speakers are Miss Kate Gordon of New Orleans, president of the Conference; Miss Jean Gordon, president of the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer, executive secretary of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference; Miss Laura Clay, for years president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association; Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont and Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBERS of the National American Woman Suffrage Association will meet in annual convention at Nashville, Tennessee, from November 12th to November 17th. Mrs. Ernest Thompson-Seton, national chairman of arrangements for the Convention, has been in Nashville for some weeks planning the details of the meetings. Among the prominent speakers who will address the Convention are Madam Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary, Secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Miss Zona Gale, who will read an original play; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal;* and Miss Jane Addams.

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The Winning of Nevada

By Miss Anne Martin, President of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society

OUR majority is now over two thousand and still growing. There is every likelihood of a three thousand majority. On behalf of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society let me again express our appreciation of all the Congressional Union did for our campaign in sending us Miss Mabel Vernon as an organizer from March until after election.

EVERY suffrage campaign is necessarily shaped by characteristics within the state, physical, sociological, moral, and industrial.

There are in Nevada certain unusual conditions as regards its geography, its distribution of population, its electorate and its industries that produced peculiar difficulties and necessitated a special type of work to reach and educate the voters.

Nevada has a population of only 80,000 people on an area of over 110,000 square miles, a territory one quarter larger than Great Britain with its more than 40,000,000 inhabitants. Of these 80,000 people, 40,000 are men over 21 years of age, of whom only 20,000 remained in the state long enough to vote at the last general election. Twenty thousand voters, scattered over an area of 110,000 square miles, gave an average of one voter to every five square miles to be sought out and educated.

It is true that some of these voters are massed together in the towns, but, with one exception, in towns of less than 1,000 votes.

Nevada has therefore the lowest urban and the most scattered rural population in the United States. Nevada has also the highest proportionate male population, the lowest proportionate population of women, and the largest "floating" or transient vote in the whole country. This large floating vote is due to mining, railway and irrigational construction, and other transitory occupations.

The difficulty of reaching and educating this vote for suffrage, distributed over the greatest proportionate area in the United States, a vote which is constantly changing, passing in and then out of the state, was met in the following ways:

1. By press work. Nevada's forty-five newspapers, chiefly rural weeklies, were supplied every week with a special bulletin of news, comment and argument from suffrage headquarters.

2. Every editor, over one hundred school districts, and three hundred representative names from our sixteen counties received the *Woman's Journal* every week.

3. A suffrage essay contest was conducted by the College Equal Suffrage League in the schools of the state.

4. Every voter in the state, according to the county registration lists of 1912, was circularized by the county organizations, and again by state headquarters, with different kinds of suffrage literature. This comprehensive piece of work by no means insured the education of every voter in the 1914 election; a prominent Nevada sociologist estimated the voting population as 50 per cent transient, which makes the 1912 registration lists 50 per cent wrong as regards the 1914 lists. The new voters in the 1914 election were circularized from the primary registration lists available after September.

5. Our last, and next to the state-wide circulation of our vote, the most important educative factor in our campaign was personal contact with the voter. We accomplished this by means of canvasses and street meetings in the towns, and by seeking out the rural voters by train, automobile, stage, and even on horseback, "prospecting for votes" among the miners in our vast mountains, and the farmers in our remote valleys. To reach less than one hundred votes at Austin, the county seat of Lander County, required a journey of two days over the desert in a motor narrow-gauge railroad, costing on an average more than ten cents a mile. In most cases it required several days' journey away from the railroad to seek out the scattered vote in the outlying precincts of our northern and southern counties.

Nevada is rightfully classified as a "doubtful" state as regards its Republican and Democratic character. Election figures for the last ten years show that Nevada has always gone Democratic when powerful Democratic leaders were seeking re-election, and Republican by as many votes as it went Democratic, when a powerful leader like the late Senator Nixon was successfully seeking election to the United States Senate in 1904 and 1910. The Democrats, the Progressives and the Socialists of Nevada have endorsed equal suffrage, and many individual leaders of the Republican Party support it. In the election of 1912, 20,115 votes were cast, of which 7,986 were Democratic, 5,620 Progressive, 3,313 Socialist, and 3,196 Republican.

Besides the endorsement of every party in the state but the Republican, equal suffrage was endorsed by every labor union which has voted on the subject, and by a state-wide conference of labor representing 6,000 members.

While the chief opposition from the usual vested and evil interests was active chiefly in Reno and Washoe County, the center of population, the sentiment of the street meetings in Reno conducted by Miss Mabel Vernon, the able Congressional Union organizer working for the Nevada campaign, was strongly pro-suffrage. These crowds were made up of men, principally, from all walks of life, and all parts of the state.

The State Suffrage Society had only fourteen paid members and no county organizations in 1912, and now has over 1,000 paid members, a large additional enrollment, suffrage organizations or committees in every county, and an advisory board containing the names of United States Senators Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman, Congressman Roberts, Governor Oddie and Lieutenant-Governor Ross, the late President Stubbs of the State University and Bishop Robinson, besides judges, editors, bankers, and other business and professional men, who are leaders, from every county.

In less than ten years of suffrage work the Nevada Equal Franchise Society has secured a larger percentage of Nevada's 18,000 women as paid members than are enrolled members of all suffrage associations in the state of New York, with its splendid suffrage background and its powerful workers.

The campaign in Nevada was won largely because we were enabled to reach the fifteen thousand or more country votes. Winning the western campaigns is laying a certain foundation for carrying the national amendment in a very short time.

CAMPAIGNING IN NEVADA

Miss Anne Martin, Nevada State President, and Miss Mabel Vernon, Congressional Union Organizer, Waiting to Speak to the Voters in a Nevada Hay Field, Shortly Before Election

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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National Headquarters—1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.

COLORS—PURPLE, WHITE AND GOLD

Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.

In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

The Election

NO complete analysis can be made as yet of the election results owing to the lack of full returns. The Democratic Party seems to have lost very generally. Its unsatisfactory record on suffrage has undoubtedly been one of the contributing causes. The millions of leaflets and the constant stream of press bulletins which have been sent over the country laying bare this part of the Democratic record cannot have failed to have had some effect upon public opinion. Particularly has this effect been noticeable in the suffrage states, where the Congressional Union has concentrated on making known to the women voters the attitude of the Democratic Party on suffrage.

The middle Western and Western states were regarded as the section where the Democratic majority would suffer the least reduction and where new seats might even be captured for the Democratic Party. The non-existence of industrial centers in this part of the country would protect the Democrats, it was believed, from the dissatisfaction with the tariff revision which was rife in industrial centers of the East. But in reckoning on escaping the opposition to the tariff and currency legislation the Democratic Party failed to take into account the discontent existing, in this territory, over its suffrage record.

To sum up the results: Women voted last Tuesday for forty-five members of Congress. In only nineteen of these constituencies, according to present returns, was the Democratic candidate successful. The present solidly Democratic representation from Colorado was broken by the defeat of Representative Seldomridge, involving the overturning of his majority of over twenty-two thousand of two years ago. Senator Thomas was elected by a very small majority in spite of the fact that he was running in what was believed to be a rock-ribbed Democratic state. In Arizona, another solidly Democratic territory, such inroads were made upon the Democratic strength as to make Senator Smith's election a matter of doubt. In the Kansas senatorial race, where a Democratic victory was expected owing to the great strength which Victor Murdock, as Progressive candidate, was drawing from the Republican nominee, Mr. Curtis, the Democrats nevertheless went down to defeat. In Utah they failed to capture the Senatorial seat, which, owing to the Progressive and Democratic coalition, had been generally conceded to them. In Washington they gained only one of the two newly created districts, both of which, it had been believed, would go Democratic. In Wyoming, in spite of Progressive aid given to the Democrats, they failed to win Mr. Mondell's seat. In Oregon, they were held to their previous strength. The one seat which they retained here was kept only after a very bitter fight. From Idaho no Democrats were returned, despite the strong hopes which were entertained that Governor Hawley, the Democratic candidate, would defeat Senator Brady, as he had done four years ago in the Gubernatorial contest. Four out of the eleven districts in California went Democratic and the Senatorial seat was gained by that party. The strong Progressive element in the state which carried the Governorship seems to have split the Republican vote and given the Democrats these five seats, though they were defeated in a majority of the districts.

Apparently Democratic pluralities have been reduced quite generally in the suffrage states. No complete returns on that point, however, are yet available.

The outstanding feature of the election is the fact that less than a score of women, with a very small expenditure of money, made suffrage one of the burning issues in the national election in each of the nine states where women are voters. They showed themselves of sufficient power to rouse the Democratic leaders to take almost every conceivable step to combat their campaign.

Among the concrete results already obtained from the Congressional Union's appeal to the women voters is the forcing of all candidates and all parties in the suffrage states to an open and vigorous espousal of the national suffrage amendment. Particularly noticeable was the conversion of Senator Smith, of Arizona, who was absent from the Senate when the suffrage vote was taken last March and who, a few months ago, declared himself against the national amendment. The inclusion of a federal suffrage amendment plank in the Arizona State Democratic platform, and for the first time in the platforms of all of the parties in Colorado, is directly traceable to the Congressonal Union activity in these states.

Probably the most far reachng effect of the campaign will come from the organzation of the women voters into a movement supporting the federal amendment. The women voters are the crux of the national suffrage stuation. Their organzation, the beginnings of which were made during this campaign, will have a moral effect upon Congress during this coming session, probably even greater than we can foresee.

It is not necessary for suffragists to seat or unseat candidates. They need only to show that they are one of the considerable elements which go to make up the total result in an election. They have proved in this election that their oppostion means the loss of votes. Politicians are susceptible to the slightest disaffection among the voters in their constituencies. The women voters have shown that many of them put the suffrage issue before all other issues. That is the great truth which we have been reiterating in the ears of Congressmen as we met them in the halls at Washington. At last it has been demonstrated to them that these words were true. The conviction that this is the case must needs alter the course of all representatives who are filing back to the captol and ponderng over the lessons of election day.

Every Congressman from a suffrage state, whatever his party, will come back to Washington with the conviction that suffrage is no longer an academic question—is no longer a matter with which his party can trifle. He will realize that if a few women in six weeks can organize such an agitation with suffrage as its basis, the movement, by the time the next Presidential election comes around, will have grown to a power which no candidate and no party can afford to have as a foe.

All parties must realize after last Tuesday that opposition to suffrage is no longer an expedient course.

The Congressional Election

Reduction of Democratic Pluralities

Women Voters an Important Factor in the Result

IN spite of the efforts of the Democratic National Committee to keep suffrage out of the Congressional election campaign, it was one of the dominant issues in the elections in each of the suffrage states.

Let us survey the field. Take first Arizona:

The Congressional Union went into Arizona, a solidly Democratic state, one where no other party was supposed to have any chance. Here the only hope of the Union was to turn some Democratic votes and thereby convince the Democratic leaders in that state that the National suffrage amendment was of sufficient importance to the welfare of their party to demand their whole-hearted support. The campaign in Arizona succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of those who instituted it. Now, several days after the election, Senator Smith's seat is still in doubt. If he is finally declared elected it will be by a small majority. No one denies that suffrage has been made one of the vital issues in the Arizona election. Democratic papers have been beside themselves in proving the fervent support which the Democratic Party has always given to the suffrage movement. Says the *Examiner* of Yuma, Arizona (October 24, 1914), in commenting on the situation:

"We view with amusement the efforts of the Democratic political bosses to be in favor of equal suffrage."

Three Republicans, three Progressives, four Democrats and one Independent were elected to the House from California, and a Democrat to the Senatorial seat. This is an increase of one Democratic seat in the House and one in the Senate from that state. The suffrage campaign seems to have been an important element in keeping down the Democratic majorities and in preventing the winning of other seats by that party. The wonderful spirit and enthusiasm with which the California women have entered into the movement for winning the national suffrage amendment justifies the belief that the suffrage forces in that state will soon be so strongly organized for the national amendment as seriously to imperil the fortunes of any national party which does not take up that amendment. Mrs. Alice Park of Palo Alto, one of the most prominent Suffragists in California, wrote to the National Headquarters of the Congressional Union shortly before election day:

"I want to go on record as endorsing the plan of the Congressional Union. I am helping to the limit of my time—going to San Francisco headquarters at least two days a week until election and doing all the writing, talking, and explaining that I possibly can. I rejoice in the new courage in suffrage workers. I rejoice especially that the women voters are appealed to in behalf of their eastern sisters. The western women voters are so busy and happy in the new era that they are not doing half what they should to help eastern Suffragists. And here is a chance held out to them. The old days of weighing and measuring and trembling are past."

In Colorado, another solidly Democratic state, Representative Seldomridge's plurality of over twenty-two thousand, two years ago, was entirely wiped out and a Republican elected in his place. The plurality of the other Democratic Representatives, according to present returns, was considerably diminished and the Senatorial seat was almost lost to the Democratic Party. The large part which suffrage played in this result is generally conceded. The following headline in one of the Denver papers is typical of the newspaper recognition of the suffrage element in the situation:

"Meager Plurality Makes Thomas' Re-election An Empty Triumph—Man Who Betrayed Colorado Interests and Double-crossed Woman Suffrage Retains Job by Less than 1,000 Votes."

"The Democrats," writes Miss Ruth Noyes, who, with Miss Stevens, has been in charge of the work in that state, "have defeated their own ends in giving us publicity. We have been so much in evidence that they cannot adhere to their program as per instructions of the Democratic National Committee to ignore the suffrage question and the organizers of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. In our clippings you will see that each of the big administration leaders who has been brought here has in one way or another been obliged to recognize us."

Further evidence of this is furnished by a leaflet sent far and wide through the state, issued from the Colorado Democratic State headquarters under the names of Wellington H. Gates, Leo U. Guggenheim, and John T. Barnett, National Democratic Committeeman. The leaflet begins:

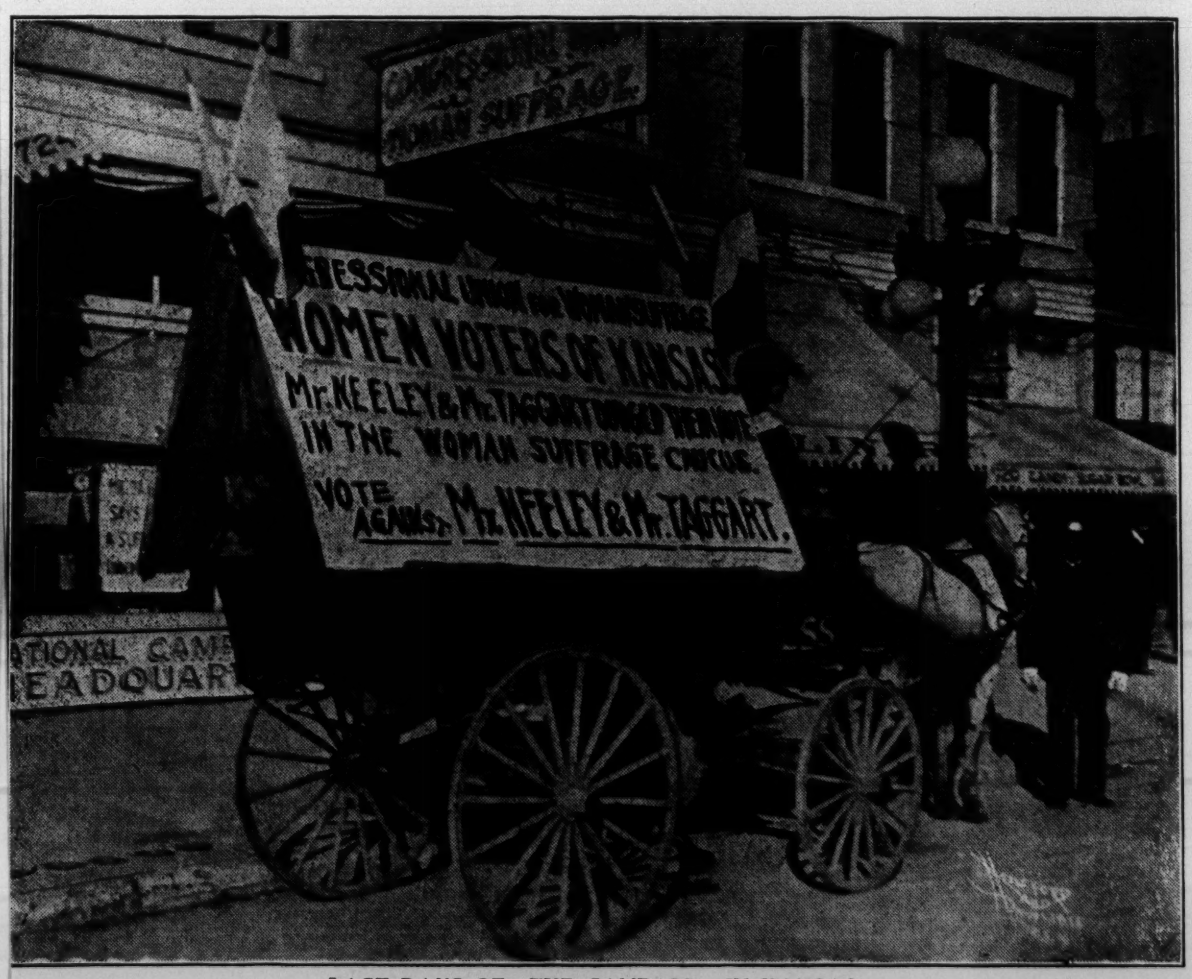
"Permit us to call your attention to the apparent aims and purposes of an organization calling itself the Congressional union."

It then devotes four pages to letters and statements opposing the policy of the Union and ends with an appeal to the women voters to elect the Democratic candidates for Congress "with larger majorities than ever before to show the world that the Democratic women of Colorado are not only loyal but consistent voters."

This was the last leaflet sent to the voters by the state Democratic committee. From the first word to the last it deals only with the Congressional Union. Could better evidence be desired of the important part which the Democrats themselves felt that suffrage was playing in the election!

No Democrat was returned from Idaho in spite of the vigorous attempt of the Democratic Party to capture at least the Senatorial seat. The part which political leaders believe the suffrage question played in Idaho is indicated by the fact that all parties excepting the Democrats wrote to Congressional Union Headquarters expressing their appreciation of the campaign which the suffragists had made and stating that this activity was a considerable factor in bringing about the Democratic defeat.

Representative Neely, the Democratic candidate for the Senate from Kansas, was defeated by a narrow margin by Mr. Curtis, Republican. This was the contest about which the main interest in Kansas was centered. But for the votes which were turned because of the attitude of the Democratic Party on suffrage there is every reason to believe that Representative Neely would have captured this seat for his party. According to present returns, the Democrats gained one seat in Kansas, that formerly held by Representative Murdock, Progressive, who did not run again for the House, having entered the Senatorial race.


CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
WOMEN VOTERS OF KANSAS
Mr. KEELEY & Mr. TAGGART VOTED NAY
IN THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CAUCUS.
VOTE AGAINST Mr. KEELEY & Mr. TAGGART.

LAST DAYS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN KANSAS

The Democrats were held to their present representation in Oregon. Senator Chamberlain, the only Democrat returned, had the most difficult fight of his long political career. The importance which he attributed to the opposition of the Congressional Union was indicated by his last edition of posters which started off with the declaration of his support of woman suffrage, and which gave his alleged suffrage record as the principal argument for his re-election. Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, who has been in charge of the Oregon work, sent word just before the election:

"Every man and woman has been discussing our political policy and has become conscious of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and its importance. Chamberlain's new street car cards are up. The leading argument that he gives for his re-election is his stand on National Suffrage! So woman suffrage has become a national issue at last."

The Democrats won no seats whatever in Utah. It will be remembered that in the Democratic and Progressive coalition the nominations for the House were given to the Progressives and the Democrats ran a candidate only for the Senatorial seat. The Senatorial seat from Utah was considered one of those which the Democrats were certain to gain. Various Democratic organs, notably the *New York World*, in their forecast of the results the Sunday before election, counted the Senatorial seat from Utah as assured for the Democratic party. Here again that party met defeat. The party leaders' denunciation of Congressional Union activity in Utah, their vigorous endeavor to organize the women of that state to fight the Congressional Union, and their efforts to induce the Union's representatives to leave the state, show clearly that they considered the suffrage question a formidable factor in the campaign.

Washington, according to present returns, has a Republican Senator and four Republican Representatives in the House. One district, the fifth, a newly created district, was won by a Democrat. In this state also the Democratic gains were less than had been anticipated. It had been expected that they would carry both of the eastern districts, which had been created since the last election, by the redistricting of the state.

In Wyoming the Democratic candidate, Mr. Preston, was defeated in spite of the fact that a Democratic and Progressive combination had been effected, covering both the state and national campaigns, in accordance with which the Progressives had put up a candidate for Congress to draw support from the Republican nominee.

Comments of the Press

The Congressional Union Campaign

MANY political forecasts single out the direct election of United States Senators as the great new factor of this election of 1914, but history will record the beginning in this year of a more fundamental movement.

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage has set out to organize the voting strength of enfranchised women as a power that can demand and obtain political freedom for the women of the entire nation.

The powerful interaction of East and West in this striking policy is bound to have a far-reaching effect upon national politics.

There is more than one man in national political life who will look henceforth with awakened interest upon the suffrage map of the United States.

Since the Colonel has adopted Armageddon as a Biblical strength for the Progressive Party, the Congressional Union might be pardoned for plagiarizing the report of Elijah's servant:

"Behold there ariseth a little cloud, out of the West, like a woman's hand."—*Washington Herald*, Nov. 2, 1914.

Democrats Worried About the Congressional Union

IT is admitted in Democratic circles that the action of the Woman's Congressional Union may have some effect on the vote for members of Congress, and the campaign in Arizona of the women from without the state, in behalf of national suffrage, is being watched with interest. Word has been sent from Democratic headquarters in this city to all parts of the state, to watch the meetings closely, and make a close check upon both attendance and interest. —*The International*, Douglas, Arizona, Oct. 19th.

Democrats Are Anxious About Women's Votes

HOW will the women vote? The Democrats want to know. They are particularly interested on account of the policy of the organized women Suffragists who have declared war on the Democratic Party in the nine states where women vote for Congressmen and Senators.

The women know that under the present House Rules and organization the party in power is responsible not only for legislation, but for the failure of legislation—that the individual members of the House are powerless, and the party caucus and committee organization all powerful. No question can come before the House of Representatives, under the present system, without the consent of the party leaders, who control the Rules Committee. Furthermore, the President has taken the position that the party in power is responsible for legislation, and the Democrats are appealing to the country to support the "Wilson policies" by sending none but Democrats to Congress—even though they be Democrats like Sullivan of Illinois.

The women have accepted the situation as they find it, and have adopted the policy of taking the Democrats at their word and holding the party responsible for its hostility to woman suffrage. They say they have no quarrel with the individual Democratic candidates in the nine Suffrage states and no preference among the opposition candidates, but they intend to make their woman's influence felt on the party as a party. They are appealing to all woman voters, regardless of party, to assist the unenfranchised women of the East by voting against the Democratic candidates and show the political leaders that a party cannot persistently turn down the women and not lose votes as a result.

Reports in Washington from the nine states indicate that the activities of the Congressional Union have caused much worry locally and nationally among the Democratic leaders. The results, therefore, of the elections will be watched closely and studied carefully to determine just what the women have accomplished by their fight.—Gilson Gardner in *Des Moines News*, Oct. 31.

National Woman Suffrage Workers

ONE of the most remarkable political developments of the past year is the growth of the national movement for woman suffrage. Two years ago it did not exist politically. Today a campaign in nine suffrage states, is being waged against Democratic candidates for Congress, because the Democratic Party in Congress has opposed the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In the last two years of its power the Democratic Party has put itself squarely on record against national woman suffrage. The President has refused all help to the Woman Suffrage Amendment. The Democrats in the House have caucused against the measure; they have bottled it up in committee, and have refused to allow a vote to be taken upon it on the floor of the House.

The workers at Washington have adopted the only logical course. They have come West, where women vote, to urge women to cast their vote against Democratic candidates to Congress, until the Democratic party ceases to block the Federal Suffrage Amendment.—*The Woman Citizen*, California, October.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

THE part that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has played in the suffrage movement is the natural outcome of her heredity, early training and of her own experience in a life devoted from youth upwards to the service of humanity.

At the age of fifteen she read "Adam Bede." The story of Hetty Sorel burnt into her heart the age-old injustice and the cruelty that makes the ignorant and the helpless the scapegoat for the wrong-doing of the protected and the fortunate. Her eyes were opened once for all to the sorrow of women, and from that hour she vowed herself to their protection and defence. Later on the study of Goethe's "Faust," and also a novel of Walter Besant's that fell into her hands, "The Children of Gibeon," deepened and confirmed this determination.

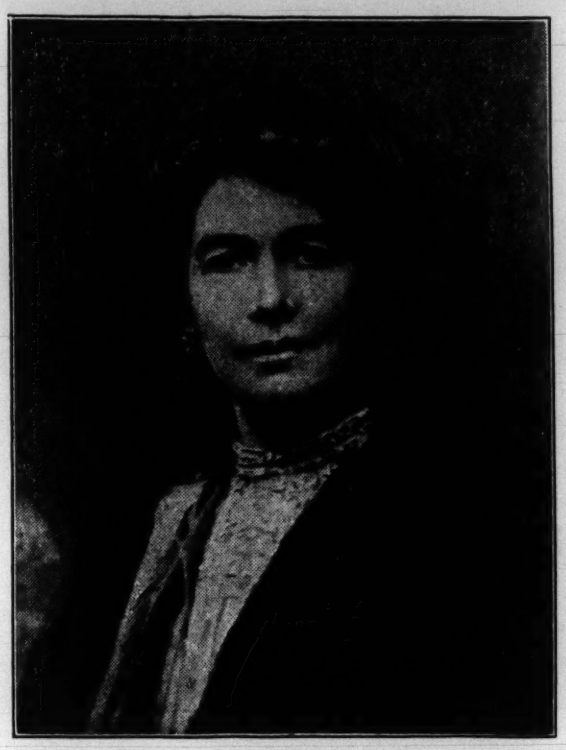
The question was—How to begin? Weston-super-Mare was in those days so far removed from the throbbing life of the world that the problem of "What to do with our daughters" had never rippled the surface of family life. Daughters in happy and prosperous homes played tennis, "did" the flowers, paid calls with their mothers, and went to dances till—they married or something happened.

Just at this time it so happened that Mrs. Price Hughes started her "Sisterhood of the People," inspired by the idea of Mazzini's "Young Italy."

Her express purpose was to provide a sphere of social service to girls who on leaving school or college longed to help women less fortunate than themselves. Emmeline Pethick applied, and was accepted at once. And for five years she remained a sister in the democratic and progressive West London Mission, which was at that time not only an organization for social amelioration in a particular district of London, but a school of thought possessing an almost world-wide influence upon reform movements in the Free Churches.

At the end of five years of training and experience "Sister Emmeline," her colleague, Miss Mary Neal ("Sister Mary"), and other friends, determined to strike out on lines of their own, and work out in practice the conclusions to which they had come as a result of the knowledge they had gained. They realized that the economic condition of women was the root cause of much of the misery, sickness, and even of the so-called "crime" of those who are for the most part made of more heroic stuff than are their smug accusers. They resolved to work out for themselves the minimum wage. They went to live in a workman's flat, cut themselves down to the bare necessities of life, and kept account of every farthing that they spent. At the end of the first year they came to the conclusion that no working girl can live decently in London under 15s. a week as a regular minimum wage. They then started a dressmaking business, with an eight-hours day, and minimum wage of 15s, per week, and carried it on for eight years, when it became merged in another similar enterprise under another management. They founded the Espérance Girls' Club, which has since become known all over the country because of the Espérance Guild of Morris Dancers, who have revived the old National Dances in every county of England. They co-operated with the Hon. Lily and Marian Monague in founding the first sea-side holiday hotel for working people at Littlehampton. The little community of educated men and women with leisure to devote to social service, which centered round the Espérance Club, grew until it was represented on the School Committees, Board of Guardians, and Borough Council of the district.

It was in 1900 that Mr. Pethick Lawrence first came into touch with this community known as the West London Social Guild. He was at that time assisting in the organization of a similar social enterprise in Canning Town. He had just written a book on Local Variations in Wages, but had not given special study to the wages of women, and was very much interested in the results of Miss Pethick's and Miss Neal's investigations and experiments, and absolutely in sympathy with their ideals. In 1901 Miss Pethick and Mr. Lawrence were married. Mr. Lawrence was at that time chief proprietor of the *Echo* newspaper, and became shortly afterwards the manager and editor. He decided to adopt his wife's maiden name, and became known from this time forward as Mr. Pethick Lawrence.



Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, of England, who will speak at the Columbia Theatre Meeting at 3:30 P. M. Nov. 15th in Washington

In the autumn of 1905 they visited South Africa together, and it was there that the news reached them of the protest in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester made by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney, by which the militant tactics of the W. S. P. U. were initiated. The newspaper accounts of this incident were given in such a way as to induce the conclusion that these public-spirited brave girls were disorderly and hysterical creatures. But Mrs. Pethick Lawrence suspected that there might be another side to the story, and determined to hear it. A few days after her return in January, 1906, she made the acquaintance of Mrs. Pankhurst, heard the facts of the whole case and determined then and there not merely to sympathize, but to associate herself with these maligned people, in whom she recognized the capacity for self-sacrifice and leadership. For many years Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had been a member of "the old society," and a subscriber to its funds, but had felt any hope of success growing fainter with each succeeding year, because the driving force behind the movement was totally unequal to the task of carrying such a reform. There were no meetings, no agitation, a mere handful of members, and no enthusiasm, and no leadership. To all appearances "the old society" was moribund. But in the little group of people who called themselves the Women's Social and Political Union, Mrs. Lawrence recognized what she had learnt to believe were the only forces that could move the world—intense conviction, capacity for sacrifice (which meant incapacity for counting personal cost) inflexible will power, and resource in action, and with these forces she made up her mind to ally herself. She was under no illusion as to the magnitude of the new task to which she now put her hand. She knew that it was not a question of giving her spare time and such of her energies as were not required for the other big interests of her life; she knew that this new enterprise would mean the giving of all her time, all her energy, all her reputation, and all her life.

The W. S. P. U. was literally penniless. She became then and there the national treasurer, opened an account at the bank, arranged for a regular audit, and laid the foundations for the raising of that great fund that has aroused the envy of other political associations. But her duties as treasurer formed but a small part of her work in the W. S. P. U. She bore a full share in organizing, speaking, writing, and in developing the political policy of the Union, as well as in active militancy. She has been five times in prison. The first time was in 1906 for taking part in a protest inside and outside the House of Commons, the second in 1909 for leading a deputation to the House of Commons to protest against the exclusion of votes for women from the King's Speech; again in 1911 for heading a deputation to Westminster, when Mr. Lloyd George torpedoed the Conciliation Bill.

In March, 1912, she was arrested on a charge of conspiracy, and kept in prison over three weeks, bail being refused. In May of the same year the case was tried. She was sentenced with her husband and Mrs. Pankhurst to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, but was subsequently removed with her two colleagues to the first division owing to the action of the jury and the petitions of representative people all over the world. The refusal to place the imprsoned rank and file of the W. S. P. U. as well as the leaders in the first division, resulted in the adoption of the hunger strike as a protest against this injustice. In this strike the leaders were honorably compelled to associate themselves by a sympathetic strike. After the operation of forcible feeding had been carried out, the Home Office found it necessary to release Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in order to save her life. Her husband was also released a few days later for the same reason, and after convalescence they both went to Canada for two months to recruit their health.

Owing to differences of opinion concerning the policies of the W. S. P. U., Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence withdrew from that organization, on their return from Canada.

Great pressure was put upon Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to found another suffrage organization. To this she responded by forming the Votes for Women Fellowship—not a suffrage society, but an association of co-workers and friends to further a common enterprise, namely, the establishment of the paper *Votes for Women* as the expression of the suffrage movement in its wide catholicity of ideal and purpose.

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ONE of our members, in sending in a contribution to the Congressional Union campaign fund, writes: "I saw in the last *Suffragist* the request for help in meeting your campaign expenses in the suffrage states. I wish I might send $100. I believe you will get all you need, however, for I think you are doing the very best thing possible to further the cause, and it is a great pleasure to see in the *Suffragist* the reports from the different states. I am sending my copies of the *Suffragist* where I think they will do the most good."

We urge all other members to spread their copies of the *Suffragist* as widely as possible. A new reader means a new friend and supporter.

MEMBERS WHO HAVE SECURED NEW SUBSCRIBERS

Sept. 13th to Sept. 31st

(*In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.*)

Mrs. T. M. Nichols	1
Mrs. F. R. Hazard	4
Miss Anna McCue	1
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Miss Lucy Burns	4
Mrs. Milton McNeilan	4
Mrs. Gilson Gardner	3
Miss Eleanor A. Calnan	2
Miss Marie Goucher Greene	1
Dr. Caroline Spencer	1
Miss Doris Stevens	2
Miss Maud F. Clarke	4
Miss Alice Paul	14
Mrs. Thomas S. Williams	1
Mrs. William Colt	2
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Shippen	2
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Miss K. Pearl Woodlief	1
Mrs. Gertrude Hunter	1
Mrs. Falkland MacKinnon	1
Mr. Mary Hutcheson Page	3
Mrs. J. Borden Estee	1
Mrs. Helena Hill Weed	2
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	1
	73
Previously acknowledged in the *Suffragist*	281
Total to Nov. 6th	354

Advisory Council

MRS. ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY, honorary president of the National Council of Women Voters and president of the Oregon Woman Suffrage Association, has this week joined the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union in testimony of her support of the election campaign which the Union has been conducting in her state. Mrs. Duniway sent a vigorous protest to the National Headquarters of the Congressional Union at Washington when the election work was first started in Oregon. After having witnessed this work for some weeks she was completely won over and has thrown in her great strength and influence with the Union.

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